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SONGS AND STORIES OF THE
CH'UAN MIAO

(WITH 24 PLATES)

BY
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[p. i]

PREFACE

123 I first came into contact with the Ch'uan Miao 川苗 in 1921. During the previous year there had been a severe famine in Kweichow 貴州, and many of the tribespeople of that province, to save themselves from starvation, ate grass and the leaves and bark and roots of trees. One Hua Miao 花苗, called Chang Sa Kai or Zaccæus Chang because of his short stature, left his home in Kopu 葛布, Kweichow Province, and came to Suifu 綏府, now called I-pin, where I was stationed. From him I learned of the Ch'uan Miao, and by his help I was able to make friendly contacts with them. I visited the Ch'uan Miao at Chou Chia Keo 周家溝, Wang Wu Chai 王武寨, and other places, and a Ch'uan Miao boy named Yang Fong Tsang went with me to Suifu, where he attended the junior and senior primary schools. For years he was an almost constant companion on my journeys, and he assisted me in my attempts to learn the language and customs of these people.

114 During the following years I visited the Ch'uan Miao in their homes as often as possible, listening to their songs, hunting with them, talking about their customs, taking anthropometrical measurements, and watching them play their wind instruments and dance, or perform their ceremonies.

In 1932 I was transferred to Chengtu 成都, the capital of the province, and was made curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology. From this time on I made more determined efforts to learn about the Ch'uan Miao. I spent several summers with them, and on one of these expeditions I was accompanied by W. R. Morse, M.D., and Gordon Agnew, D.D.S. Dr. Morse made anthropometrical measurements and observations, and Dr. Agnew studied their diet and their oral conditions. At one time when it was impossible, because of brigands, to go to their homes, several Ch'uan Miao came to Suifu and for weeks aided me in my study. At other times one or more Ch'uan Miao men came all the way to Chengtu. Believing that their music was very interesting and of high quality, I brought three of their best musicians to Chengtu where for several weeks Dr. Agnew and other musicians studied and transcribed their music, and published an interesting article on the music of the Ch'uan Miao in volume 11 of the Journal of the West China Border Research Society.

126 At first my method was to listen to a song or story as it was sung by a Ch'uan Miao man or woman, then write it down sentence by sentence as it was explained by the singer. Later I obtained the help of a Ch'uan Miao who could read and write Chinese and sent him to different parts of the Ch'uan Miao region to collect songs and stories. He would write them in Chinese in little booklets, which he would send to me at Chengtu. Later, with his help, I would translate them into English. The final stage was reached when my knowledge of the Ch'uan Miao language and the international script had improved enough to enable me to write down the Ch'uan Miao words in the international script, then transliterate them, and finally render a translation. I would always go over my final translations several times

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126 with the singer or with the person who collected the songs to make sure that they were as nearly correct as possible. Finally, often with the help of my wife, I worked over the translations in order to improve the English without changing the meaning.

In all, I collected 752 songs, legends, historical and etiological traditions, and short stories, but not all these could be included in this volume. In the romanization of Chinese words the Wade system has been used, while the Miao words and phrases are generally in the international script.

579 One difficulty in pursuing my researches was the robbers, who might appear at any place at any time. The Ch'uan Miao region is very mountainous and abounds in forests, natural caves, and rock shelters. These make it easy for brigands and thieves to conceal themselves along the roads and to escape after a robbery. Many times I was prevented by the officials from taking a proposed trip because of the presence of bands of robbers. I have had numerous narrow escapes.

123 At first the Ch'uan Miao were very reluctant to give information about their beliefs and customs. They often told me that previously they had rarely given such information to Chinese or Westerners and that when they were asked they gave evasive answers. But during the years of contact with these people, a very warm friendship grew up between us, and they became very cooperative and helpful. Without their assistance it would have been impossible to carry on the study of their language and customs. They gave me the name of Na K'wa Dai Lo, or great and kindly teacher, and they always welcomed me to their homes. Several times they met me with bugles and banners, later giving banquets to show their friendly welcome. They permitted me to take pictures freely, gave me the information I wanted, and helped me collect stories and songs and learn their language. Some of them sold to me, for the West China Union University Museum, beautiful embroidered garments that were heirlooms. I am sincerely and deeply grateful to my Ch'uan Miao friends for their assistance.

In 1934 I obtained the help of Hsiung Ch'ao Sung, who could read and write Chinese and who had traveled widely in the Ch'uan Miao region. He gave me much valuable assistance in studying the language and customs, and it was through him that I collected most of the stories and songs. Yang Ch'ing Ming came to Chengtu to attend the Goucher Junior Middle School, and during his stay in Chengtu he rendered valuable help in my studies.

000 Lin Min Chun, formerly assistant curator of the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology, helped me translate Ch'uan Miao words and phrases into English and into Chinese, and further assisted by searching Chinese histories for references to the Ch'uan Miao. Similar aid was rendered by Dr. Cheng Teh K'un, my successor as curator of the museum. Dr. Serge Elisseeff, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and Prof. Jesse Moncrieff, who was president of the Union Language School at Chengtu, aided me in clarifying the Ch'uan Miao sounds and taking them down in the international script. My wife, Alicia Morey Graham, spent a great deal of time correcting the notes and typing the stories and songs.

My interest in folktales was first aroused by Prof. Archer Taylor. Dr. Wolfram Eberhard, of the University of California, author of books and articles on Asiatic folk stories, has given needed and valuable suggestions as to the classification of the Ch'uan Miao songs, stories, and folktales. The Library of Congress has been generous and kind in permitting me to use its books and rooms. The American Museum of Natural History presented me with pictures of its Ch'uan Miao embroideries, which were collected by me, with permission to use them. Last but not least, the Wenner-Gren Foundation (Viking Fund) granted me a post-doctoral fellowship, which enabled me to take time to prepare this material for publication, and also contributed substantially toward the cost of publishing this volume. To all these and other friends who have kindly assisted, I gladly express my deep and sincere thanks and appreciation. 000

Dr. Wolfram Eberhard has classified the folktales according to motifs in his "Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen," and Dr. Stith Thompson has classified them according to the motifs in his "Motif-index of Folk Literature." Their classifications are included in the Appendix. The assistance and cooperation of these two scholars are much appreciated.

About 60 songs, stories, folktales, legends, and ceremonies are reprinted from two short articles by the writer published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society: The Ceremonies of the Ch'uan Miao, vol. 9, 1937, and The Legends of the Ch'uan Miao, vol. 10, 1938.

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(WITH 24 PLATES)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE PEOPLE

[101] The Ch'uan Miao are an ethnic group living on the borders of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan Provinces, western China. The country is very mountainous with numerous peaks rising 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are many streams, forests, waterfalls, perpendicular or overhanging cliffs, natural caves and natural bridges, and deepholes or pits where the water disappears into the bowels of the earth. While the roads between the Chinese towns and villages are generally paved with stones, most of the roads are narrow footpaths up and down the steep mountainsides or through fields and forests.

[49] It is estimated that the number of Ch'uan Miao people is about 150,000. In [61] Szechwan Province, they are found as far north as Kung Hsien 供縣 and Ch'ang Ning 長寧 and about 100 li east of Yung Ning 永寧. They extend a short distance into the northeastern tip of Kweichow, south in Yunnan as far as Ta Kuan 大關 and below Cheng Hsiung, and a short distance westward toward Hsü Kiang 緞江. They do not live in villages, towns, or cities but are interspersed among a much larger population of Chinese who live in the towns and cities and in many of the farmhouses.

[32] These people resemble the Chinese in having light, olive-brown skin and little [145] hair on their faces and bodies but differ from the Chinese in West China by being slightly shorter in stature and having a slightly less evident epicanthic fold to the eyes. There are greater physical differences between the Ch'uan Miao and the Lolo and Tibetans than between the Ch'uan Miao and the Chinese. A comparison of the languages and dialects and the social and religious customs makes it evident that the Ch'uan Miao are a branch of the Miao-yao group of the Mon-Khmer family.¹

The word Ch'uan means river. It is apparently an abbreviation of the word Szechwan, which means four rivers, for Szechwan is the province of four rivers. The Szechwan people are called Ch'uan Jen 川人, and the Szechwan soldiers are called Ch'uan ping 川兵. It is evident that these people are called Ch'uan Miao because many of them live in Szechwan.

The word Miao means sons of the soil. It is written in Chinese with the grass character above the character meaning field. The name has often been indiscriminately applied to non-Chinese groups in China.

¹ Clarke, S. R., *Among the tribes of Southwest China*, pp. 307-315. Morgan and Scott, London, 1911; Davies, H. R., *Yunnan*, pp. 331-347. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

- 101 The Miao call themselves Hmong, and the Ch'uan Miao call themselves Hmong Bo or old Miao, because they believe that they are descended from a very ancient race. They are also called Hmong Gleh or White Miao because in some localities they wear or have worn white clothing.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- 175 References to the Miao are found in the earliest Chinese literature. It is stated that the San Miao, who could not be pacified, were exiled to the province of Kansu, where they apparently disappeared.

Some of the Miao were absorbed, but others migrated southward or westward as the Chinese advanced, and their descendants are found on the Island of Hainan, in Indo-China, and in the southern and southwestern provinces of China. There are historic records of forced migrations of the Miao people from Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces westward into Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan, one of which occurred in 1733 under the Emperor Yung Cheng 雍正. The Ch'uan Miao have a legend that years ago, after a war with the Chinese in which they were defeated, they were forced to migrate, with their hands tied behind their backs, to the place where they now live.

None of the histories of Kweichow or of its principal cities or prefectures mentions the Ch'uan Miao, and the Yunnan histories never mention them as Ch'uan Miao, and generally not at all. The Chao T'ung Hsien Chih mentions them as White Miao and merely states that they are there and that they are called White Miao because they wear white clothing. In descriptions of Miao customs those of the White Miao are not distinguished from those of the Hua Miao. In the gazetteers of southern Szechwan, such as the Hsü Chou Fu Chih, they are mentioned only when they engaged in wars with the Chinese and had to be pacified, and there is no description of their customs. The fact is that aside from the articles of Dr. W. R. Morse, Dr. Gordon Agnew, Prof. William G. Sewell, and the writer, most of which were published in the Journal of the West China Border Research Society, these people have practically never been mentioned in historic or scientific literature.

ECONOMIC LIFE

- 241 Agriculture is the principal occupation. These people are truly "sons of the
463 soil" and get their living from the land. Even those who are blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, hunters, priests, shamans, or in recent years teachers, generally depend primarily on farms or gardens for a livelihood. A few own their farms, but most of them rent from the Chinese. One Chinese farmer asserted that a Miao family had rented the same farm from the same family for at least 200 years.
- 342 The homes of the Ch'uan Miao are much the same as those of the Chinese, especially the Chinese of the poorer classes. The floors and walls are generally of pounded clay, but sometimes the walls are of wood or bamboo and plaster, or even of cornstalks. The roofs are generally of straw or grass, but some Ch'uan
- 353 Miao have tile-roofed houses. There are rarely any pictures or decorations on the walls, and the main pieces of furniture are square or round tables, long stools, beds, and chairs.

beds, and chairs. The stoves are generally, like those of the Chinese, of clay and stones or bricks, but sometimes one is seen that is merely a square hole in the ground, a continuation of a very ancient custom. 000 354

The principal tools and utensils, which are like those of the Chinese, are the plow, the curved sickle for cutting grass and wood, the hoe or pick, the ax or hatchet, the hammer, saw, knife, spoon, ladle, rice-steamer, loom, and the iron pot or cooking vessel. 412

The domestic animals are the horse, mule, donkey, water buffalo, cow, pig, dog, cat, sheep, goat, chicken, duck, and goose. 231

The principal food is corn meal cooked like porridge, but those who are able to get it eat rice. This diet is supplemented by vegetables, meat, and wild fruit and berries found in the woods. The investigations by Dr. Gordon Agnew showed that many Ch'uan Miao suffer from malnutrition. 262 146

Women weave cloth on homemade wooden looms, and they generally do the cooking. Both men and women work in the fields, but only men do the plowing. Sewing and embroidery work are done by women and girls. Hunting is a popular pastime of men and boys, especially during the winter months when there is little farm work to do. 286 462 234

Formerly most of their clothing was made of hemp cloth, which was undyed and therefore white, woven on their looms by the women. This evidently explains why they were called "White Miao." Whether the Ch'uan Miao belong or have belonged to the "White Miao" group of southern Kweichow is a problem yet to be solved. Today much of their clothing is made of blue cotton cloth bought from the Chinese. 241

In former years the clothing of the Ch'uan Miao, both men and women, that was worn on festive occasions and often to markets was beautifully embroidered and colored. Some of the embroidery, such as that of the handkerchiefs, is like that of the Chinese peasant's cross-stitch embroidery, but most of it, and that which is finest and best, includes beautiful designs found widely among non-Chinese people in southern and central Asia, extending even into central Europe. The best skirts of the women are pleated and dyed in a manner resembling somewhat the batik of Java. The Ch'uan Miao men no longer wear embroidered garments, and the women are imitating, to save time, the coarser of the Chinese embroideries. This is bringing about the loss of a fine and beautiful art. 531 292

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The family is the social unit, and the Ch'uan Miao family closely resembles that of the Chinese. The oldest male is the head of the family, and all his descendants, except married daughters, and including wives of sons and grandsons, generally live together in the same house. After marriage the woman belongs to the family of her husband. All having the same name are regarded as belonging to the same larger family and are not allowed to intermarry. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and is expressed in elaborate funeral and other ceremonies. 576

While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors to the south, no

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
 837 to the south,

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evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
 622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gū leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
 536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
 273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
 276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

212
 584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's husband. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it often results in a happy marriage. 000 837 583

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurning hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high. 755 753 165

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper. 769

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the ancient level land of Ntzi, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise. 775 764

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat. 764

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial 765

765 drum and the coffin to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu sheng*. They exert so much strength that often some of the dancers are pushed over, furniture is smashed, and the walls of the room or house are broken. One story says that in this dance the house was pushed down and everything inside was smashed.

When the coffin is about to be carried out of the house for burial, the priest stands across the doorsill and shoots three arrows inside and three outside the house. This is to drive away demons that might cause any sort of a disaster.

765
775 'Twelve days after the funeral there is performed a ceremony called in Chinese *sao ch'ieh* and in Ch'uan Miao *a si* or *a shi*. The ceremonial drum is not beaten, the bull is not killed, and there is no music of the *liu sheng*. At this time the spirit of the deceased person is believed to return to his old home. Ashes are sprinkled outside the front door, and the friends and relatives later look in the ashes for footprints. It is believed that the footprints will reveal whether the ancestor is now a person, an animal, a reptile, or a fowl.

Not less than one year later there is held a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *tsao chai* and in Ch'uan Miao *a vang*. Friends and relatives observe the ceremony in the house or march to the grave beating the ceremonial drum and gongs and playing the *liu sheng* to entice the soul of the dead back home. A cow, a water buffalo, or a pig is killed and offered to the deceased ancestors; it is then cooked and eaten by the relatives and friends. This ceremony is performed for older brothers and sisters and for ancestors for three generations.

It is believed that after death a woman carries a grass mat on her back, and a man carries on his back a wide, round, shallow winnowing basket such as is commonly used in West China. These prevent the souls from entering the palace of the level land of Ntzi. In the *tsao chai* or *a vang* ceremony the ancestors are released from these burdens and go happily to God's flat land where they are able to enter the palace and visit their ancestors.

Later, generally after several years, there is a memorial ceremony called in Chinese *ch'ao chien* and in Ch'uan Miao *tsa mong*. The grave is opened, the coffin is burned or thrown away, and the bones are washed with wine and then rubbed with oil. A new coffin and new clothing are provided, and the corpse is reburied in the same or another grave. During this ceremony the drum and the *liu sheng* are used, a cow, water buffalo, or pig is killed, and there is a feast. It is believed that the deceased person becomes very uncomfortable lying in the same position for a long time; also, if the ceremony is not performed, the descendants will not prosper. After the ceremony the ancestor is comfortable and happy, and the descendants will prosper.

765 There is another memorial ceremony called in Chinese *hua fan*, or flowery altar, and in Ch'uan Miao *a gi bang* or *a gei bang*. It is performed in one of the homes and is participated in by all the relatives having the same name. It takes place about once in three years. A bull is killed, and his hide may be used to cover a ceremonial drum. The meat of the bull and rice, corn, wine, and vegetables are offered to the ancestors, after which there is a feast. The drum is beaten, the *liu sheng* and the flute are played, and there is dancing and singing. Twelve men

impersonate cows and pretend to fight and to cause the death of six. Women rub soot onto the men's faces until they are black. A woman carries a dummy child which is beaten to pieces. There is much fun and laughter. 765

There is also a ceremony performed about once in three years making offerings to the souls of deceased domestic animals.

In addition, there is the ceremony of eating new grain, and there are at least 11 calendar festivals which in date, method of conducting the ceremonies, and purpose correspond very closely to those of the Chinese.

RELIGION

One can easily get the impression that the Ch'uan Miao have no religion, and they themselves sometimes confirm this impression. They have no religious organizations, no organized priesthood, no temples, and no visible gods. It is my opinion, however, that they are a very religious people. Through their daily toil, by the help of their ancestors and the gods, and by means of religious ceremonies, they hope to achieve a long and satisfying life in which the basic needs of food, sex, protection, security, and play and recreation are insured, and after death to join their departed ancestors in the ancient level land of Ntzi. Two of the fundamental elements in their religion are belief in demons, which cause diseases and other calamities and which must be exorcised by the magician and his ceremonies, and the commemoration of their ancestors by ceremonial rites and offerings. 769 776

The untutored Ch'uan Miao does not know that the world is round, and he has seen so many mountains that he does not regard it as entirely flat. There is an end somewhere, but he does not know how big the world is. 823

Above or on the sky is a level land where the souls of the deceased remain with their ancestors after death. It is called the ancient level land of Ntzi (ntza' Ti' lau' gau' bi'). Here there are no hills to climb and neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day, and although there are no rains there is no lack of moisture. People do not farm but gather fruit and berries in the forests, which are much as the forests were on the earth in very ancient times. At the memorial and calendar festivals the offerings of their descendants provide them with food, clothing, money, and wine to satisfy their needs. Formerly there was a ladder connecting the earth and the sky or paradise, but in recent times this connection has been broken. 772 [796]

Under the earth is another world, the land of dwarfs or Lilliputians who are about 2 feet tall. They live much like people on the earth, having houses, farms, a king, soldiers, and a government. One Miao entered this world through a natural cave in a mountain and remained so long that many of the people on earth had forgotten him. Another fell through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace and after two or three years was able to crawl back onto the earth through a crack caused by a drought. When rain came again the earth swelled up and closed the crack.

Some of the stories speak of a dark place inhabited by demons and presided over by a demon king. 775

The Chinese idea of three principal souls and seven lesser souls, and of karma 776

775 and transmigration, is known and accepted by the Ch'uan Miao but does not
 776 seem to be absorbed and does not greatly affect the lives of the people. The soul
 is real but shadowy, and the soul of a good man is larger than that of a bad man.

Demons are the souls of human beings or of birds, animals, reptiles, or inanimate things. If a deceased person has no descendants or if his descendants are unfilial and do not meet his needs by making the customary offerings, he becomes a demon and harms people. Demons of human beings are called *glang*, and demons of other living creatures are called *ts'ao*. When a person goes crazy and speaks in a meaningless or silly way, it is thought that he is possessed by a demon who is speaking through him. His speech is then called *glang lo* or demon talk.

The idols in the Chinese temples are regarded as demons and are called *glang miao*. There is one devil called *glang da lo* who is so big that he can step from one mountaintop to another and from the earth to the sky. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb, and if he strikes a person on the chest with the palm of his hand the person dies, and the marks of his palm can be seen on the dead person's chest. There is another sky demon or devil called *ndo glang* who is worshipped by an elaborate ceremony in which a sow is killed.

The gods of the Ch'uan Miao are invisible unless they choose to reveal themselves to human beings. Chief among these is Ntzi, who lives in the sky and controls heaven and earth. He is regarded as good, just, kindly, and very powerful. He is the supreme but not the only god. Some stories tell of his sending his daughter to help poor and unfortunate men, and she generally marries them. A name that is sometimes used is Ntzi (or Ndgü) Nyong Leo, which means god, foundation, old. It apparently designates the same deity.

Another very interesting deity is called Ye Seo, Yei Seo, or ʒe Seo. He never dies, is very wise, kindly, merciful, and just, induces people to do good deeds, and helps people, especially the poor, who are in trouble. He is often seen in the clouds and can easily make himself visible or invisible. In the province of Canton the name Jesus is often pronounced Ye Seo, but it is uncertain whether the name and character of this deity have any relation to Jesus Christ.

There is a female deity who lives in the sky called Ts' Ma Niang Tsai. She is very merciful and especially shows kindness to unfortunate children.

821 There is a warty toad called in Chinese *lai ke pao*, which is believed to have
 776 marvelous powers and to cause hailstorms. During these storms men shoot off guns to frighten the toad and cause it to cease sending down hail.

There is a dragon king who causes rain and who lives in a palace beneath a pool or lake. There are stories that tell of his daughter's marrying a very poor man in order to help him.

776 Certain kinds of trees are sometimes worshiped as deities. They are generally trees on hills or mountains that are old and do not shed their leaves in winter—evergreens such as the *nan mah*, but never a fir or pine tree.

778 A strange custom is the worship of the door. The thick doorsill together with the door itself, which often has two wings, is regarded as a deity and is worshipped in an elaborate ceremony in which a pig is killed and offered.

As we have seen, the deceased ancestors are commemorated by numerous ceremonies in which offerings are made, but the Ch'uan Miao assert that they do not regard ancestors as deities. 769

Among more primitive peoples is found the mana concept, that of a super-human, supernatural, strange power that is present in unusual persons, deities, and things. Among the Ch'uan Miao this power is assumed but not named or theorized about. It is possessed by gods, godlike creatures, devils, the *do nun* or exorcist, the *mo* or priest, the *bo ntsong* who transforms people into tigers, the ceremonial drum, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial crossbow, the ceremonial *lin p'ai*, the sword, the seal, etc. There are magic fans by the waving of which battles can be won and other wonders performed, and there are magical charms and incantations possessing this strange power. 789

Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, homes, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

The year is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

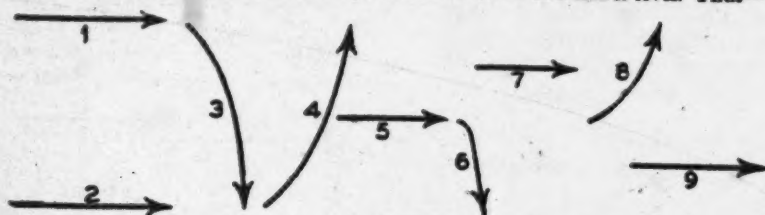
The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194
[193]

194 corresponds to the Chinese aspirate and is indicated by the mark '. In the little aspirate the entire word is pronounced with a strong emphasis as with italicized words in English and is indicated here by underscoring and in Pollard's Miao script by the sign '.

The tones are very important, for the same sound in a different tone is an entirely different word with a different meaning. While the Chinese in I-Pin have five tones, the Ch'uan Miao have nine tones. The range of the tones is about an octave, and the first five tones correspond to those found in I-Pin. The sixth tone begins at five and goes downward. The seventh tone is halfway between one and five and, like one, five, and two, is "level." The eighth begins at five and goes upward, and the ninth tone is halfway between five and two and is level. Thus—



PHONETIC TABLE

Consonants

b	as in bite.
d	as in dig.
dʒ	as in judge, but without aspiration.
dʰ	is d plus a slight s sound.
f	as in fat.
g	as in go.
ŋ	is an uvular g.
ʔ	is ng as in king.
h	as in hat.
ʰ	is rough h as in the Scotch word <i>loch</i> and the German word <i>mach</i> .
j	is y as in young.
k	as in kind.
l	as in law.
ʎ	is Welch voiced ll plus voiced l.
m	as in man.
n	as in new.
ɲ	as ni in onion, uttered as one word.
p	as in pin.
r	which in strict phonetic script is ʀ, the ordinary fricative (untrilled), the initial r of southern English and American speech.
s	as in sit.
ʃ	is as sh, but nearer the ordinary s except before i and j.
t	as in tin.
t̚	is a dental t sometimes written t̚.
ʈ	as in hut.
tʃ	as ch in child, weakly aspirated.
tʃʰ	as ch in child, strong aspirated.
v	as in vow.
ʷ	is the French j bordering on the English fricative ʒ (for which r is used in this table of sounds). Sometimes there is a slight uvular r sound following this ʷ.

ʃ	is a strong palatalized French j.
w	as in wit.
ʰ	is used to indicate a strong aspirate.
ʰ	indicates the weak aspirate, which in the Pollard script is indicated by '.

Vowels

i	as in pique.
iː	as in imp.
e	as in end.
æ	as in hat.
aː	as in shah.
ɔ	as in hot.
ɔː	as in haul.
u	as in put.
uː	as in pool.
o	as pure clear long o.
ʌ	as in nut.
y	is unlabial u (u) as in the German language.
ɤ	inverted e, very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is pronounced with the teeth of the two jaws very close together to produce a feeble sibilant. The lips are not rounded but remain neutral. The tongue is more advanced than in the French. It is sometimes written ɤ in the romanization of Chinese sounds.
ɪ	is nasal a.
ɛ	is nasal o.
ai	as i in bite.
ao	as ow in how with a pure o ending.
au	as ow in how with an open u ending.
ei	as in eight.
ou	as o in go with a u ending.
au	as the Chinese ou (Wade) or eo (China Inland Mission).